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not in defense of capital...

Philadelphia

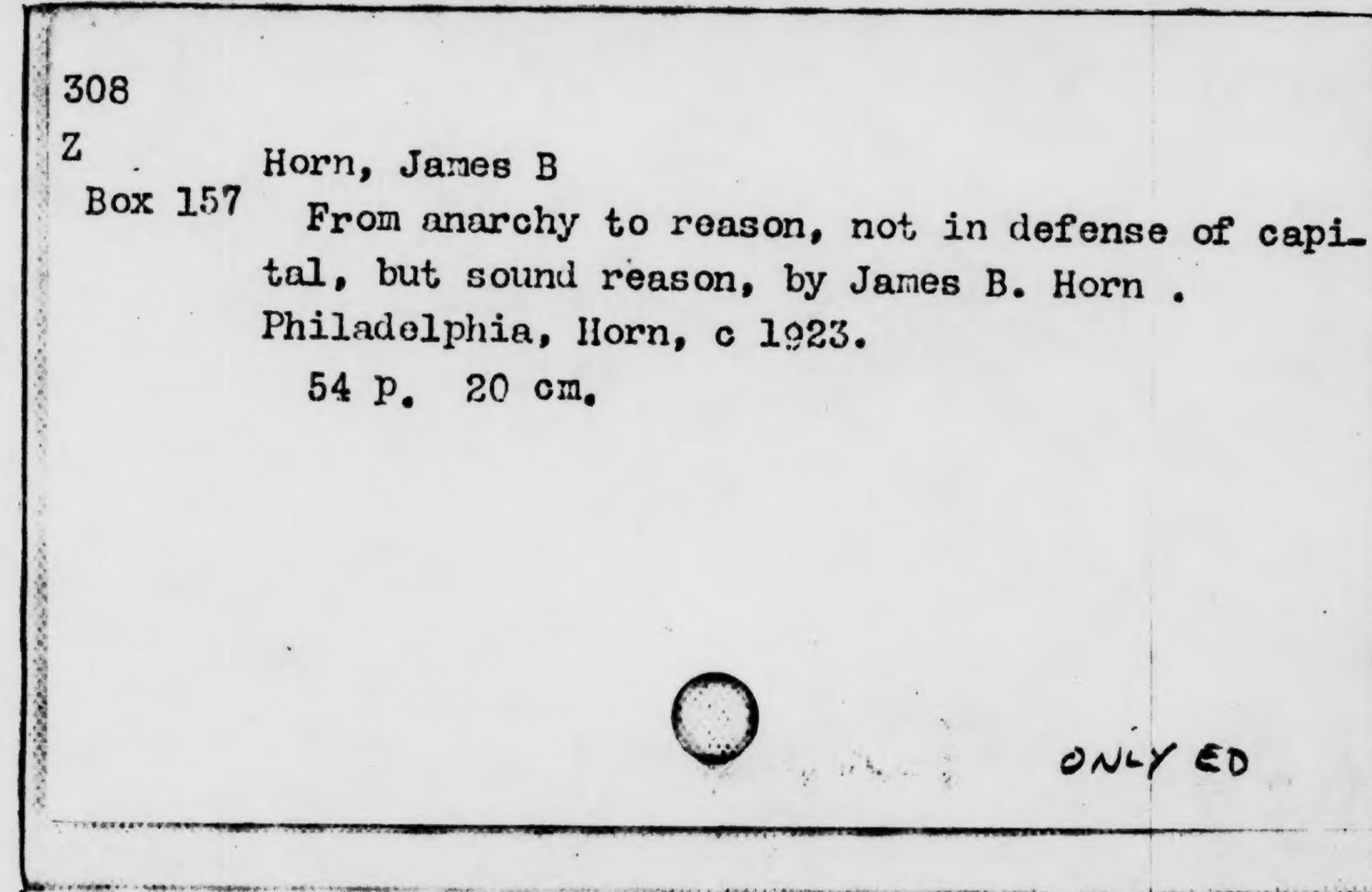
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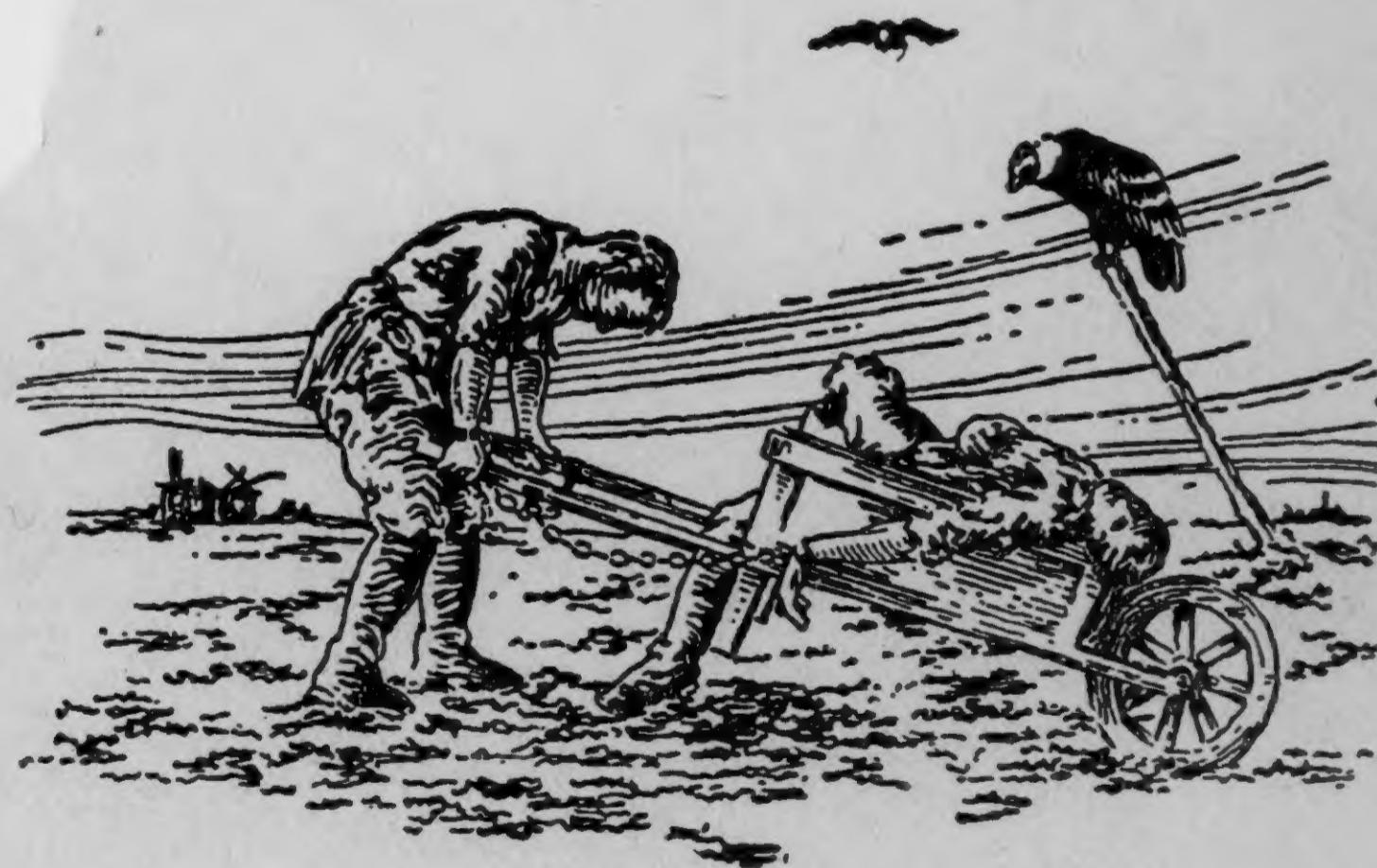
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# From Anarchy to Reason

Not in defence of Capital  
but sound reason

By  
**JAMES B. HORN**

Or



Published by  
**JAMES B. HORN**

Philadelphia, Pa.

# From Anarchy to Reason

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Chapter I  
A Big Idea

Q13 May 1924  
ASL  
I began life with a big idea. It was in a school in Russia, where we formed a secret society, that this idea took root. This idea was to overthrow that which we recognized as wrong in the only society that we knew anything about.

As Russians, we saw nearly two hundred million human beings practically enslaved—not owners of their own thought, denied the privilege of reading, writing, speaking, or working without permission from a censor.

Anyone found guilty of violating, knowingly or unknowingly, any rule laid down by the censor was liable to punishment by not less than twenty years of hard labor in the Siberian mines.

I was nearly a victim of that law through reading a book entitled "God and the State," an extract of socialism and communism. It was known as one of the most revolutionary books in Russia. The Secret Service were always on the alert for readers.

I remember it was on a cold December night, I was reading "God and the State," when my attention was attracted by the sound of footsteps. I threw the book into the fire and snatched up the Bible just as the door was burst open by a half dozen gendarmes.

After a search in the name of the almighty Czar, during which every scrap of written or printed matter was carefully collected and taken for investigation, I was thrust into a cage on wheels used for the transportation of political prisoners and taken before the colonel of the gendarmes.

After thirteen days of questioning and torture—and when I say torture, I mean that if my answers did not correspond with the wishes of the authorities, five lashes of the cossack's whip were inflicted upon my body—but not finding any evidence to convict me, I was released. I was only fifteen years old at that time.

Can anyone blame us for organizing secret societies to overthrow a tyranny that made such things possible?

The society to which I belonged was one of many in Russia. The members dedicated their souls to their ideas

GJ 9  
President N. M. Butler  
5-12-24

and gave their lives for their plans. In front of a firing squad, many of my young associates went to the great beyond. Many others went to Siberia.

A few years later, I was found guilty of belief in Marx's theories, and then I found myself in a detachment sent to the Siberian mines.

I shall never forget June 12, 1902, the day on which I was arrested. I had just arrived home from the Moscow University. My parents were sitting at the table. The Samovar (Russian tea pot) was steaming. My father and mother took me in their embrace and invited me to a tumbler of tea. I pulled off my boots and put on a pair of easy shoes before joining the family.

We were discussing the closing of the University by the Czar and his spies when a strong pull of the door bell was heard throughout all the rooms of our dwelling. I looked up at my father. He became pale as a ghost. My good mother opened her eyes wide and was startled. Before I had time to look at the other members of the family, the gendarmes came in and ordered me to come along with them.

My father had a premonition that this would be the last time that he would see me. And it was. He did not cry. He took me in his arms and embraced me so tight that I could hardly catch my breath until one of the gendarmes pushed him roughly aside.

My mother did not seem to realize all that was going on, but as my father was pushed aside by the rough hand of the gendarme, she awoke as from a dream and with a stream of tears pouring down her cheeks, rushed toward me, pushing everyone aside, and fell upon my shoulder, with a maddening shriek, "My son," she fainted. Taking advantage of the situation, the gendarmes grabbed hold of me and dragged me from the house to the cage wagon, in which I was taken to the political prison in Moscow. From there my journey to Siberia soon began.

To describe the horrors in the Siberian mines is beyond human power; to the twentieth century American, they would sound fictitious and unbelievable.

Every political prisoner was subject to the rules of the prison. These regulations were beyond human power to follow. Anyone who was heedless in the application of these rules was subject to be chained to a wheelbarrow. I still carry the marks of the iron band that held my wrist chained to a wheelbarrow for eight months.

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We were chained in pairs to each wheelbarrow. My mate was weak and could not bear the tortures inflicted upon him. After three months of suffering he died. The guards were unable to secure a blacksmith at once, so I was compelled to load the dead body of my comrade into the wheelbarrow and haul it around with me for three days, then the blacksmith returned, removed the bracelet and replaced the corpse with another prisoner.

## Chapter II

### My Escape

With the help of some comrades I escaped from the Siberian mines. Embittered but hopeful, I was placed in an empty sauerkraut barrel (and most of those who escaped made their exit in the same romantic way) I was furnished food, drink and bade my comrades farewell while listening to the head of the barrel being nailed over me. My trip was not very pleasant, but I arrived semi-consciously at Harbin, China, where a few of my comrades received me. From Harbin I managed to reach Port Arthur, where I became a stowaway on a vessel bound for England, finally arriving in London. I was master of several languages *not including English*, and in these I preached Radicalism from the slums of White-chapel to the green lawns of Hyde Park. After three months in British Isles I embarked for America.

Words are weak, indeed, to portray my feelings at the sight of the great Statue of Liberty as we entered the New York Harbor. With that arm outreached and torch uplifted, there was an awed silence amongst all my fellow passengers of the steerage.

Here was my big idea towering over a hemisphere; for us, here was liberty and freedom!

Emotional and overcome, I dropped on my knees with outstretched arms and bowed head. Yet my comrades and I had renounced the theory of a God in the Universe.

At the wharf, international comrades met me and I was taken to the office of a leading radical newspaper.

When I expressed my joy at being in the land of Liberty, my comrades laughed at me and told me that liberty was a word without meaning here as in the rest of the world, and that instead of one Czar we have thousands here to overcome.

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Every employer, every foreman, every supervisor, every under-executive was pointed out to me as a Czar controlling the government and keeping the workers in slavery. I was told how through intrigue and manipulation liberty was scoffed at. I was asked, "Why are there so many strikes occurring all over the country with such regularity, if the workers are not kept in slavery?"

I was taken to the slums of New York and shown the poverty and want. I was told that was what the employing class did. I looked, listened and was convinced.

I was told of a strike in Philadelphia. In recognition of my reputation as a speaker, I was sent there. At the corner of Pine and Fifth streets, I mounted my first soapbox in America, and my fight began.

I preached the doctrine of communism from the Atlantic to the Pacific. I have seen the inside of many jails from Maine to California. At San Jose, Cal., I was tarred and feathered.

All these things I submitted to because of my one big idea—the idea of righting wrong, of promoting a principle which originated way back in the University of Moscow. And I am not the only one who has suffered and sacrificed for an idea.

Everyone is a product of circumstance and environment. The reflex of contact with things and thought makes us as we are. We would all create Utopia. Brotherhood and service is an ideal hidden in the archives of every human heart, whether it is voiced or not. How to attain that ideal has brought about many proposals.

Starting in life with a prejudice against all existing order, it was not difficult to work myself up to the fervor and fury of the reformer. Being a reformer, I did as reformers do—I appealed to the dissatisfaction with self and conditions which lurks in the breast of every human being. This is one of the most powerful appeals.

But I, like many others, was a victim of one-sided knowledge. With integrity of purpose, I became a foe to civilization of the twentieth century, which represents the total progress of humanity.

The fact is that a lack of knowledge in the history of human progress and human nature in its relation to government is the germ from which all destructive thoughts spring.

All the Marxonian, Prudhonian, and Kropotkian theories are based on the division of the world's goods;

it interprets all men as being equal, and being brothers and unselfish. That inspires the men who live in mediocrity. None shall want. Doesn't that appeal?

Whether you believe it or not, many of those who advance these theories of government and human relationship are not all of them ignoramuses or hypocrites; their aims they think would improve society. We have an illustration in Russia, where a few zealous reformers with the aid of a mere handful of followers dictate the destiny of one hundred and fifty millions of their fellow men.

### Chapter III

#### Shattered Dreams

Early in the great world war, while I was busy spreading the gospel of communism, I began to receive strange and confusing impressions. As an advocate of higher wages, I saw my dreams realized, but only to be shattered by the counter realization that higher wages do not mean any more for the workers, as prices go right along with wages and no one is any better off.

When government operations of railroads became an accomplished fact, I said to myself, "Now we are coming into our own." However, when I saw the results I was disturbed.

Then came my own Russia, throwing off the shackles of the Czar, freeing themselves from the yoke of the Romanoffs. This was the time for which I sacrificed my youth and suffered tortures unheard of. At last the fateful hour had arrived. Now the world would witness the establishment of a real democracy.

The shock that I received when I saw an absolute autocracy, as despotic as the world has ever known, grow out of the Russian revolution made me see things in a different light. At last I began to understand that "Capitalism" is merely a different name for an industrial system under which effort, service and accomplishment are rewarded. I began to understand that only through maximum production can there be a greater distribution of clothing, food, housing and other material comforts of life.

These are common truths, but are they simple in the way they are given to all men?

There are twenty million workers in the United States who are kept in the dark the same as I was, and a very large proportion of them are being bombarded with a continuous stream of radical propaganda, both in print and by words of mouth, and in many languages.

This widespread propaganda is designed to impose upon the people of America an industrial system that is the antithesis of the existing one.

Socialism, communism, or any other ism involves a leveling process. It requires that all men be treated on an equality regardless of willingness or capacity for service. None is to receive more than the fellow working next to him, regardless of the efforts or ambition of either. That means the stifling of initiative. Russia has tried that system and failed completely. Would you like America to be another Russia?

Let us take a look at what happened to Russia. Why were little children starving in a territory as rich and productive as the great Western prairies of the United States? What happened that a region which poured out trainloads of wheat each year to feed millions of people in other lands has been unable to feed its own babies?

#### Chapter IV

### What Happened to Russia

The people of the United States have spent millions of dollars to help the Russians and they are entitled to know why Russia got in such a sad predicament.

As a Russian, born in Russia, educated in Moscow, and familiar with Russian history past and present, I can shed some light on the matter.

In the United States there are about three million square miles of territory and about one hundred and ten millions of Americans enjoy a good living. There is no country in the world where even the poorest enjoy so many advantages and so many comforts as in America.

Russia is a tremendous expanse of land. It has nearly nine million square miles and before the great war began it had just a few less than 165,000,000 people. Before the war, the whole British Empire had only between eleven and twelve million square miles of territory with a population of about 400,000,000.

Russia was not only rich in land, but within her borders she possessed almost every kind of natural resource. A hundred and fifty millions of her people were engaged in agriculture. Her forests were the greatest in the world, and geological explorers, with only very general examination, admitted that the mineral resources were rich beyond the wealth of Golconda.

The Czar and his counsellors were the government. True, in 1905 the Douma, or parliament, was in existence, but in a national sense the people did not govern themselves. Even local governing bodies could not conduct their affairs without being liable to the veto of the provincial governor. There was much injustice, but, on the whole, the zemstvos managed their own business pretty freely.

The peasant was secure in the ownership of his home and his farm. He cultivated his land as he chose and sold his product at the best price he could get.

The rouble was a piece of money with a fixed value. The peasant took his pay in roubles, as did the worker in the mill and factory. Both went to the storekeeper with their roubles and bought such wares as they required for their simple needs.

The people chafed at the lack of freedom, but at least they were secure in the possession of their homes and savings. They could work as they liked for what wages they could obtain and live as they pleased so long as they paid their taxes and did not interfere with the lives and property of others.

The spirit of freedom stirred and there were always movements on foot to overturn the Czar and set up a republic. Of course, the Czar and his army of nobles and officials sought to put down all such agitation. The secret police were always on the lookout for anything that might possibly be aimed against the Czar.

I myself became a revolutionist. My experience was like that of thousands of others. I thought I was a martyr to the cause of freedom. Perhaps I was. But I am glad that I was not a martyr to the kind of freedom which Russia has found.

There are two ideas of freedom. Russians have always regarded freedom differently from the way it is regarded in America. When you think of Russian freedom, you think naturally of Tolstoy. In my opinion he

was overrated as an influence in Russia. He carried more influence with certain schools of thought in England and America than he did with his own countrymen.

To me, the thought of Russian freedom brings instantly the bristling figure of Piotre Kropotkin, who stepped down from his princely dignity to become an anarchist and for his doctrines saw the inside of the famous fortress of Peter and Paul, where they used to put revolutionists in dungeons.

If Kropotkin was an anarchist, he was also constructive. He could see that Russia could not achieve freedom without being willing to give up something to get it. I once heard him say:

"If you want to get the difference between the Russian and the American idea of freedom, just watch the Russian and the American carrying canes. The American will carry his cane under his arm with the end pointing downward so that it will not get in the way of anyone, while the Russian will carry his with the end sticking up behind pointing into people's faces."

To the Russian, freedom means his personal freedom, regardless of the comfort or convenience of anybody else. To an American, freedom means regulating his own conduct to give everybody else equal freedom.

If Russia had had more men like Kropotkin, she would have had a different history. For years and years the Russian people had been fed up on the writings of Turgeniev, Dostoievski, and later such men as Maxim Gorki. Kropotkin preached hopefulness, while the others preached helplessness, contending that effort was useless and that there was no reasonable way to improve social and industrial conditions. They preached the doctrine of inferiority—the religion of despair. As a result Russia must suffer until she gets faith and hope.

The revolution of March, 1917, overthrew the Czar. Prince Lvoff headed a provisional government formed by the Douma. In turn this gave place to Kerenski. It is a matter of history that in November, 1917, the military committee of the Petrograd Soviet seized the government and turned it over to the Council of Workmen's, Soldiers' and Peasants' Deputies. One of the first acts of this new order was to repudiate the national debt, and this was the beginning of Russia's darkest days.

## Chapter V

### A Bankrupt's Fate

The national debt of the United States is just about the amount repudiated by the Russians. Suppose Congress should refuse to pay the principal or interest. The United States is the richest nation in the world, but how long do you think the national credit would be good if it repudiates its honest debts? How much do you think a London or Paris banker would give for the country's money? Anyone knows that the credit of the United States would be wiped out by such a course.

That is exactly what happened to Russia. First, her foreign creditors refused her roubles. Then the Russians themselves began to regard Soviet money as worthless. Russian credit was gone. She was a bankrupt abroad and at home.

Russian peasants have always worked their land for profit, whether they rented or were owners. At first the Soviet regime attracted some peasant support by promising to divide large estates among them; however, the peasants soon learned that the lands were not theirs, but were only allotted to them to farm. They did not feel quite happy about it.

That was not all. When they had dug, planted, cultivated and reaped, these poor Russian farmers found that all they could keep out of their production was just enough for a bare subsistence. The rest was demanded by the government. They were ordered to turn it in to government warehouses for distribution to the public.

Were these Russian peasants to be blamed if they hid their grain and vegetables? Were they different from the rest of us when they cultivated only enough ground the following year to provide their own food?

Nobody knows what the grain production was because the government seized it all, but was it any wonder that tobacco production dropped from 112,000 tons to 19,000 tons, that cotton fell off nine-tenths, that horses, cattle, sheep and swine disappeared, that chickens and eggs went beyond purchase, and that even potatoes became a luxury for officeholders only?

In nationalizing all industry, the soviet government put every sort of person engaged in industry on an equal

basis. The production manager, the skilled engineer, the chemist, the electrical expert, the accountant and the journeyman who worked at the bench—all were to share and share alike. Each man was to receive exactly the same daily wage. The wheels of industry were to whirl. The State would take the profits, and everybody would be happy.

What happened?

The production of salt fell off 70 per cent, the coal output dropped 80 per cent, pig iron dwindled to less than 5 per cent of normal, iron and steel went down to one-half of one per cent of oldtime production. I am speaking of before the war and am not using war-time figures for comparison. The decrease in production was not only a drop in total output, but a tremendous drop in output per man.

Added to her financial and industrial stagnation, Russia found that her workers, instead of taking gladly to her system, objected strenuously. Men who formerly worked when they felt like working and laid off when they wanted a holiday, did not like the idea of being numbered and tagged, ordered to do certain work at certain places, and driven to their tasks at the point of a bayonet. The workers saw the soldiers living on the fat of the land (whenever there was any fat to be had), while they had to live on their daily dole of poor food from the public stores, their only pay being in the shape of orders for food and clothing. Not unnaturally the workers quickly became ambitious to be soldiers. Presently there were more bayonets than workers.

At first the workers tried hard to operate mills and factories themselves. Very quickly whole industries came to a standstill. Then the government tried to force engineers and technical experts to work, just as they drove the mass of workers to their tasks under military compulsion. These men made a showing at work, but, like the mass of workers, they took no interest.

The government finally created preferred classes of workers with better pay than the rank and file received. For its own self-preservation it resorted to a reconstruction of the social organization which it had denounced and renounced. Merit was to have its reward. Good work was to be paid better than poor work. The whole principle of communism was chucked overboard in so far as these special instances went.

The damage, however, had been done. The spirit of nationality and the spirit of industry had been destroyed. There was nothing to rally round. The morale of the workers was shattered. The people as a whole were the victims of the religion of despair.

When I think of how my blood used to boil when I was a student at the University of Moscow, and compared the Czar's police and armies with those employed by the mercenaries of Soviet Russia, I cannot help laughing. The cruelty of the Czar never produced half the misery and want resulting from the inhuman enforcement of impossible ideas on a helpless Russia.

While the Soviet regime has massacred hundreds of thousands of men and women, destroyed scientific activity and ruined industrial organization completely, perhaps, its most terrible effect has not been upon these phases of life, but rather upon the individual.

In the course of carrying out its plan to supply workers at whatever points its state-controlled industries needed them, the government scooped up trainloads of men, women, boys and girls and carted them hundreds of miles from home to drive them at the point of the bayonet to work in its mills. When these attempts to run industry under military control failed, the state left all these workers wherever they had been forced to go.

What happened to Russia is this: The Soviets abolished private property; they abolished a money standard; they repudiated their national debt; they destroyed their banks and financial system; they nationalized transportation and every industry down to the smallest peasant farm; they nationalized labor so that every worker had to work when and where and at whatever task and for whatever pay the state allotted to him.

The Soviets carried out the doctrine of Turgenieff, of Dostoievski, of Gorki. They assumed that everyone except the leading spirits of Sovietism was an inferior being. They set up a powerful dictatorship through their Central Committee and its Council.

Whatever delusion may remain in the minds of men in the other parts of the world, there is no delusion in Russia. The country is ruled by mass terror and no individual has any right worth a moment's purchase.

The remedy for Russia's plight is enlightenment. The strongest ally of the Czars in controlling the vast nation over which they ruled was ignorance. Only in a country

in which men did not know the simple truth that nations must develop according to nature's laws could government be controlled by one Czar such as Nicholas, or by many Czars such as the Council of People's Commissars.

The remedy for Russia against the Czar was a little knowledge. That knowledge gave the Russians many Czars for one. The remedy for Sovietism is more and more knowledge, and the Russians are rapidly acquiring that knowledge.

Millions of widows and orphans of those massacred for daring to differ with the Soviets have learned a lesson; millions of workers who have worked for scant food and clothing at the point of a bayonet have learned a lesson; millions upon millions of peasants with generations of clean simple life behind them have learned a lesson; twenty million starving Russians will deal with Sovietism one of these days as severely as the Soviets dealt with the Czar and Kerenski.

## Chapter VI

### America's Greatness

After you have searched the history and traced the slow process of civilization through the centuries, you will find a representation in the republican form of government in the United States, a plan of human association, that is far greater and much better than any heretofore devised and practiced by men.

What has caused this nation to become the greatest in the world? Isn't it because of the system which encourages maximum initiative and maximum output by each individual? Isn't it the method of rewarding the industrious in proportion with his skill and application?

There are two fundamental principles which enabled this country to accelerate and to challenge the world in its advance.

First, increased unit production. That means increased output per man.

Second, increased initiative. That means increased incentive.

These two principles are the base upon which progress and civilization rests.

In this country of equality in rights all have the same opportunities to get ahead. There are some who are a little pessimistic in their views and do not believe that the opportunities that a man like Rockefeller and his equals had, can ever return. It is gone forever. Let us examine it a little closer. Let us take the man who came out with the radio—a new idea. Did he not have the same opportunities that any of them had? Mr. Henry Ford, who is the richest man in the country today, wasn't he poor when he started in the automobile business?

It is the incentive of the man that is responsible for his opportunity. It is the man who puts his life and soul into his individuality, into his output, and into his work who gets ahead.

There are those who will ask, "Why are these men who do not work sitting in palaces, riding in luxurious automobiles and getting the best out of life, while the workers have to supply them with all these luxuries with the sweat of their brow?"

Did you ever look up the biographies of the men who are living in palaces, and having an income far above their expenses?

Let me illustrate a typical hard worker who has reached the goal. There is a certain friend of mine who is a member of a firm that controls a waterfront in one of the largest ports in America. His father and mother came from Ireland; they could neither read nor write. My friend was one of eight boys in the family. He became a longshoreman when quite young, got married at eighteen and lived happily. At twenty-three he sent his little girl to a convent school. He tried hard for his little daughter to give her the best raising a poor man can afford. One day his little girl came to visit her parents and received from her mother a box of candy. The father coming home tired and worn said to his child, "Say, let's have some candy."

His little daughter replied, "Yes, Daddy, I will, if you ask me properly." The longshoreman asked the child how he should ask for the candy and she told him to say, "May I have some candy?"

This correction by my friend's little daughter made a change in his life. He said to himself: "If my little girl, only five years old, is teaching me now, what will happen when she grows up, when she gets among company? She will be ashamed of her own parents. She

will deny her birth."

That very day my friend, the longshoreman, made up his mind to go to a night school. Fifteen years later he graduated from a reputable college and took the degree of B.S. and today he is extremely wealthy.

The case of my friend is not an unusual occurrence. If we stop to think, every one of us can recall an instance where some person overcame formidable obstacles and achieved success—joined those who head our industries and keep the nation's business moving.

The operation of industry is very much the same as the operation of our own bodies. Every one of us possesses white marrow hidden in a palace called the cranium. This white marrow, which is called the brains and directs all our bodily activities, is surrounded by thick bones to protect it from outside injuries and the brain cells are consuming more blood than the rest of the whole body.

Suppose the cells of our stomach and digestive organs were to strike against the brain cells because they are consuming more blood than the rest of the whole body.

Suppose the cells of our stomach and digestive organs were to strike against the brain cells because they are getting the best of everything, what would happen? The body would become paralyzed and death would occur within a few hours.

The same happens in industry. We must have more blood for the brain cells and protect them with our life because they turn the wheels of industry. We must have palaces for those who direct and supervise just as well as the men sitting at the machines.

## Chapter VII

### America's Life Blood

You and I have watched the life blood being drawn from a great nation—I mean Russia. Four million human beings in that country are sentenced to die the coming winter, because the country has been drained of the blood of life that vitalizes the nation and makes it possible to produce the essentials required to keep the population of a nation fed, housed and clothed. Although I am a naturalized citizen of the United States, my heart is breaking for the unfortunate country of my birth

It is well for us to sympathize with the Russian people in their misfortune and to extend to them whatever aid we can, but it is imperative that we realize that we in America are confronted with making the decision as to whether or not the life blood of our own country is to continue to receive the nutrition that it has been receiving and must have if the nation is to endure.

Let us see what makes America a great nation.

What is the vital, living heart of this prosperous, happy country of ours?

What is the blood of life that pulses so strongly through the veins of our complex civilization?

Unless we know these things, we do not know the source of our prosperity and cannot protect it and make it permanent.

We all agree that there is no other country in which the national income produced by combined effort is so widely distributed. We know that in no other land are so many of the comforts and joys of life within everyday reach of everybody.

Even those who attack our institutions and seek to make us another Russia admit this.

We differ in our ideas of what can and should be done to improve conditions and make our country even more desirable as a place to live in and work in and play in, but, in the final analysis, we all desire our country's welfare.

No matter how mistaken we may think a man in his methods to make conditions better, we must hesitate to deny him credit for honesty of purpose.

We hear a great deal about social unrest. In hasty political and social action we see some concrete evidence of it. In some of the plans offered for both government and industry we can easily discern that minds unfamiliar with history and economics would rush us into experiments that have already been made—and have failed.

Man's ambition to improve himself and his condition in life was at the bottom of our civilization. It is also on the top. Man's struggle to improve, to progress, is a universal human instinct that will last as long as the race itself.

What some of the weak-kneed and apprehensive label dangerous social unrest, when subjected to close examination, will be found to be about 90 per cent plain, ordi-

nary, human discontent, and the remedy for discontent is to make it constructive and useful.

On the other hand, if the discontent, which is really a means of social advancement and development, is allowed to be directed by the 10 per cent of deliberate destructionists among the socially dissatisfied, incalculable harm may be done to our country.

Every constructive citizen is interested in protecting the life blood of America from contamination, in keeping it vigorous so that it will continue to carry prosperity and contentment throughout the land. This makes it important for us to know just what is the vital fluid that fills our national veins and what the effect will be upon it if we permit experimentation on lines upon which the chief apostles of destruction closely agree.

The United States is now in an era which corresponds closely to the one that England experienced in the years from 1875 to 1900. During those years the governmental activities of England were greatly extended. Interference with and control of private life and private enterprise were extended to an unprecedented degree. Naturally, in the emergencies of the great war, under extraordinary pressure and preoccupied with vital external problems, this government activity still further preempted private life and enterprise until it reached an intolerable state.

Even the Labor Party in England has learned that there are bounds beyond which government activity can not go without national disaster.

America is slowly learning the same lesson.

Extension of governmental functions in England was not inaugurated by revolutionists of the torch and bomb variety, such as sought to bring about the destruction of the Czar and his order. Nobody set up the theory of a proletarian government or the dictatorship of a minority. The campaign was far more subtle—a body of able speakers and astute writers used propaganda for many years toward gradual extension of government authority in every line, the argument being that such control would be for the benefit of the masses.

The real object was to use those non-alarmist methods to carry one thing after another over from private enterprise into the hands of the state until the number of tasks entrusted to government administration would make it possible to take the decisive step that would result in the nationalization of all industry.

The ultimate aim of this insidious and well-managed campaign was to commit every business and industrial activity to the state, and by so doing abolish the opportunity for the individual to use his abilities to his own advantage. It was aimed, by putting an end to private enterprise, to kill the spirit of individualism and snuff out forever the torch of human ambition, just as it was snuffed out in Russia.

In the United States we have been going through an experience almost exactly parallel to that of England.

During the first ten years of the present century there were added to the plain simple functions of government all sorts of special bodies which were empowered to regulate all sorts of matters. The habit of government regulation grew and grew, until there are commissions and bureaus to regulate almost every conceivable business activity.

Along with this development came an extension of the regularly constituted branches of the government. Law after law was enacted authorizing government intervention and interference in all kinds of business activities. In each case the result, whether or not so intended, had a general tendency in the same direction—the removal of actual control of industry from private hands.

The tendency to curtail private rights and individual enterprise had reached such a stage that thinking Americans were beginning to rebel against it when the war came upon us.

The multitude of national emergencies created by our entry into the war gave unexpected opportunity for extending the scope of government into fields theretofore considered available for private endeavor only. Military exigency furnished the excuse for smashing all precedents and over-riding all barriers. Every American stood ready to sink his personal rights for the nation's cause.

The group of Americans corresponding to the British group exerted every ounce of influence they could muster to extend state activity in every direction. It is well known that their propaganda against private enterprise cost millions of dollars and reached almost every voter in America.

The little 10 per cent of real apostles of destruction among the socially dissatisfied made the best of their opportunity and did their utmost to stir up ordinary human discontent in the 90 per cent. Every kind of

propaganda was used to create sentiment in favor of nationalizing our industries.

The apostles of destruction did their utmost to force the country into a position where it would either have to drop out of the war or nationalize our railroads, steel, coal and shipping industries.

Their efforts found strong support among well-meaning but badly informed people who did not realize the ultimate purpose, but believed they saw idealistic benefits in features of the program of socialization.

During and since the war a succession of strikes, disturbances, demonstrations and every other kind of violent effort has sought to disrupt private business and oblige government to step in and take charge of industry.

Many of the men who helped foment these disturbances make no bones about declaring that their purpose is to make both the public and the employer suffer in the hope of creating such trouble and difficulty that private capital will have to quit carrying on industry.

Men who have had opportunity to study these anti social enterprises in different industries and in different states do not hesitate to express their belief that the irreconcilables among the leaders in the nationalization movement deliberately pursue a policy of making even the strikers and their families suffer as much as they dare, in order to embitter them against an industrial system which allows such suffering to be inflicted upon workers and their families.

Nationalizationists do not care how they attain their end. Any means will serve, regardless of the harm done or the people hurt. If they can only push the country an inch farther in the direction of government control of industry, or into a state of communism, they feel that the millennium is much nearer. The Russian disaster means nothing to them.

## Chapter VIII Our Public Payroll

The group of men and women working for nationalization of our industries has exercised its influence so effectively that our government activities have been extended to the alarming degree where more than two million of our fellow citizens are on the public payrolls and

our grand total annual bill for government has run up to more than eight billions of dollars.

Our first constitutional principle held the least government to be the best government, but constant influence toward nationalization has expanded our governmental function until one worker out of every twenty is a public servant, paid out of the taxes you and I give up.

Thanks to this extension of government in business, our bill for government is nearly a million dollars an hour, and we each work about one day a week to pay it.

Now, in the light of the persistent campaign to nationalize all industry and put private enterprise aside, let us consider what is the real basis of our industries and of all industries in all countries.

What is the life blood that keeps industry alive and growing and prosperous? What is the vital fluid which our civilization must have in free supply, or wither and die?

To understand the situation clearly we must go back to the origin of our government, and what do we find?

We find that the United States was not founded on a group of people, but on an individual—the American citizen. The constitution, which was drawn up at Independence Hall in Philadelphia and adopted as the basic law of our country was erected from the first word to the last on one single simple principle—an acknowledgment of the right of every individual to liberty of person, liberty of property, and liberty of contract.

From this single simple principle has grown the tremendous industrial civilization of our nation today.

## Chapter IX Nation Rests on Individual

The foundation of all our greatness is the individual and his right to work, play, love and worship as he will. All of our marvelous economic progress, which is the wonder of the world, is based on the individual, and not on government.

There is no American industry that has been established and developed by government. The origin, growth and success of every important business in this country have been in the minds and hearts of individuals.

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Our nation's greatness has grown and continues to grow from private enterprise.

This is nature's way. Every government or group, with the exception of a few under religious influence, that has attempted to develop industry as common property by political methods has come to grief. Man cannot defy nature.

How can man go wrong on this important matter?

A man is born, grows, develops, fails and dies, all according to natural laws. If he obeys nature he will be stronger and live longer than if he disobeys her.

A business follows natural laws just the same as an individual. It is born out of some man's creative brain. As long as it fulfills its needs, whatever they may be, it prospers and continues. If the business reaches a point at which there is no further demand for what it supplies, no matter whether that condition is its fault or the fault of others, the business dies. It is subject to natural laws.

Under nationalized industry, natural laws would be disregarded. The chief aim of government would be to keep willing workers employed. Individual determination to make an undertaking succeed would be lacking, for would not the government displace the individual and relieve him of all responsibility?

Private enterprise would be abolished and the individual would function merely as a cog in one of the wheels of the big government machine. In a sense, the individual would be reduced to the state of a government ward, and as such he would have a right to look to his guardian, the government, for the necessities of life. The best way for the government to supply these would be to keep industry moving, whether conditions justified it or not. Sooner or later the laws of nature would prevail. The business would die and, if the government was the business, which it would be under nationalization, chaos would result.

Let us examine further this strange theory that government can carry on business more successfully than private persons—that through nationalization industry can be kept going regardless of natural laws.

Governments are not new. They existed long before individual initiative and private enterprise established our great modern industries. Men and women have long been willing to work just as they are now. However, neither the existing governments nor the willing workers

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established and developed the industries, which, we are now told, must be nationalized for the welfare of society.

What great change has come about that makes it imperative that industry, which is the product of individual initiative and enterprise, must be turned over to a political group?

Without going into a recital of the failures of nationalization of industry—and there are almost as many failures as there have been attempts at government operation—I want to appeal to the judgment of the individual on this premise:

If industry has originated with private individuals, has been developed by them, and has, through individual initiative and enterprise, made the United States the greatest nation on earth, is it sound reason to suppose that mass control, or nationalization is the panacea for the ills of our industrial system?

Before attempting experiments that have brought disaster in their wake, let us recall that every business in America is the offspring, the product of private enterprise.

China, with four hundred million sets of brains and four hundred million pairs of hands, never originated an industry like our automobile business, which has grown through private enterprise, in less than half a lifetime, to employ two million workers. China's total wealth is not more than a hundred dollars for each person. Her impoverished condition is primarily due to a lack of private enterprise.

Again, all of the teeming millions of Asia have not evolved an oil industry that engages a million men, or an electrical industry that provides gainful occupation for two million workers, yet China has long had governments and is possessed of resources which, if developed, would make her one of the great nations of the world.

Asiatic countries, with their governments extending throughout the centuries and with enough workers to do the work of almost the whole world, have accomplished practically nothing compared to the achievements of the United States in a scant one hundred and fifty years. Their failure to progress can be attributed to only one thing; lack of freedom of individual enterprise.

Why have the people of America in less than a century and a half been able to produce a civilization in which the humblest citizen enjoys greater blessings than

the richest and most powerful potentates of Asia with countless millions of workers?

What is the heart that gives life and energy to American industries and makes our wonderful economic civilization grow and expand and yield, year by year, a greater share of the good things of life?

That heart lies in the provision of the Constitution of the United States which undertakes to secure liberty to ourselves and our posterity.

When the people of America dedicated their nation to liberty, they pledged themselves to no empty allegiance. They believed liberty to be the birthright of every individual. They humbly acknowledged liberty to be a gift of God—a divine right that not even a government might deny.

Our forefathers fashioned our government to protect

*The Right to Liberty.*

*The Right to Live.*

*The Right to Work.*

The founders of the United States of America gave the strongest assurance they could provide that forever and ever the humblest child born on our soil should be guaranteed

*Independence of Person.*

*Independence of Property.*

*Independence of Contract.*

Here is the heart that beats within our civilization—the glowing, glorious heart of America.

Our heart of hearts as a nation is the individual liberty of every American to risk his capital and his time by backing his own faith in his own ability. It is this liberty that has made it possible for you and for me to earn five times as much as our fathers, ten times as much as our grandfathers, and a hundred times as much as our great-grandfathers.

Every man in America who receives wages—and in one form or another we are all workers receiving wages—is receiving many times more than he could earn with his bare hands. Everyone is the beneficiary of resources that other men accumulated through making use of American liberty of private enterprise.

The wealth of our nation, which multiplies the advantages that every American enjoys, has been built up out of the profits of private enterprise.

We in this day do not enjoy our railroads, electric lights, telephones, steam heat and bath tubs, phonographs and radios, automobiles and other comforts and conveniences because of our government itself.

We enjoy all these things because of the liberty of individual enterprise. This has created and developed our industries. This conducts activities that produce thousands and thousands of businesses which provide paying jobs for millions.

The impulse, the inspiration that has fired men to create and build and direct these marvelous activities has been always the same—the promise of reward for enterprise—which our Constitution guarantees.

The Constitution is the heart that furnishes life to American civilization by guaranteeing to every man the liberty to work for his own profit, to own his own business, and to provide employment for others.

It is, and it will remain, an axiom that the life blood of American progress is private enterprise, and it is up to us to decide if this life blood is to continue to flow.

In these days of false prophets I know of nothing better for the average American citizen than to read again and again the Constitution of the United States and the Declaration of Independence. In these documents there is hope and faith. In them will be found the way to improve and benefit society.

I have been through the red fires of radicalism. I have not come off unscorched. I know the minds of those who oppose our industrial system and would revolutionize our government. I have not alone studied their theories, but I have gone much further—I preached them and tried to practice them. I discovered the impracticality of the doctrines of the isms and the insincerity of many of those who urge them upon the workers of this country.

I do not claim that there is no injustice under our social and industrial system. I do not say that improvement cannot and should not be made.

What I do say after going through hell on earth for an ideal is that the way to reform is not through destructive influences that are constantly bombarding with doctrines of all descriptions and throwing discontentment in your ranks, but by being constructive and useful. These same reformers have played the greatest part in reducing my native Russia to a plague-stricken land of starvation.

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The way to improvement and betterment lies in enlightenment. Our forefathers charted the course in the greatest document ever penned, the Constitution of the United States, and I beg you to turn to the next pages and to read it and reread it. No matter what your position may be, you will be a better American if you will do this. It is your title-deed to your liberty, and it is in reality the most glorious inheritance that was bequeathed by our forefathers.

## Workingmen's Title-Deed

## The Title Deed of Freedom

The Constitution of the United States is the working-man's charter to protect his personal liberty. It is the title-deed by which each one of us holds his personal freedom, his property and his right to home and family life which is dear to us all. If you own your home, if you have a title to a piece of land, a house, you take care of your title-deed. You know well what the title is worth to you, and you value it. Once in a while you read it over. You take care not to lose it. We have, each one of us Americans, a title-deed to a share in the blessings of the best government in the world. And the great fundamental law of that government, the Constitution of the United States, every citizen of the United States ought to know. Every citizen of the United States ought to have a copy of it within reach. Have you ever studied your title-deed to all the rights of an American, the Constitution? How long since you read it through?

In these months, when so many millions of people are suffering and dying for lack of a stable government of just laws, well administered, you ought to refresh your memory by reading again, and again giving thanks for those guaranties of justice, personal freedom and equal rights which are given you in that fundamental law of our land, "The Constitution of the United States." All the people should know it and defend it, for it is made and it is maintained by our "sovereign power, the people of the United States;" and you are one of the people.

## The Constitution of the United States

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*Object for Which the Constitution Was Established*

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# Constitution of the United States

We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

## ARTICLE I

SECTION I. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SEC. II. 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several states; and the electors in each state shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the state legislature.

2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained the age of twenty-five years, and have been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of the state in which he shall be chosen.

3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each state shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the state of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; Georgia, three.

4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any state, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5. The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SEC. III. 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each state, chosen by the legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided, as equally as may be, into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one-third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any state, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that state for which he shall be chosen.

4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president pro tempore in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside; and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

7. Judgment, in case of impeachment, shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or

profit under the United States; but the party convicted shall, nevertheless, be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SEC. IV. 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each state by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may, at any time, by law, make or alter such regulations, except as to the place of choosing senators.

2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year; and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SEC. V. 1. Each house shall be judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members; and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members in such manner and under such penalties as each house may provide.

2. Each house may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

3. Each house shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may, in their judgment, require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either house on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4. Neither house, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two houses shall be sitting.

SEC. VI. 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall, in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective houses, and in going to or returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either house they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil

office under the authority of the United States which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased, during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either house during his continuance in office.

SEC. VII. 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate shall, before it becomes a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve, he shall sign it; but if not, he shall return it, with his objections, to that house in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If, after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that house shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other house; and if approved by two-thirds of that house, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both houses shall be determined by yeas and nays; and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journals of each house, respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless Congress, by their adjournment, prevent its return; in which case it shall not be a law.

3. Every order, resolution, or vote, to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States, and before the same shall take effect shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SEC. VIII. The Congress shall have power—

1. To lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts, and excises; to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts, and excise shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;
3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several states, and with the Indian tribes;
4. To establish a uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies, through the United States;
5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;
6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;
7. To establish post offices and post roads;
8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts; by securing, for limited times, to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;
9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the supreme court;
10. To define and punish pirates and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;
11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;
12. To raise and support armies; but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;
13. To provide and maintain a navy;
14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;
15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections, and repel invasions;
16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the states respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia, according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;
17. To exercise exclusive legislation, in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular states, and the

acceptance of Congress, become the seat of government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the state in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings; and,

18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SEC. IX. 1. The migration or importation of such persons as any of the states, now existing, shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight; but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when, in cases of rebellion or invasion, the public safety may require it.

3. No bill of attainder, or ex post facto law, shall be passed.

4. No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any state. No preference shall be given, by any regulation of commerce or revenue, to the ports of one state over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to or from one state be obliged to enter, clear or pay duties in another.

6. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

7. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States; and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign state.

SEC. X. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and

reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, ex post facto law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts; or grant any title of nobility.

2. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any state on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress. No state shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty on tonnage, keep troops or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another state or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

## ARTICLE II

SECTION I. 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected as follows:

2. Each state shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the state may be entitled in the Congress; but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

3. [Annulled. See Amendments, Art. 12.]

4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes, which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or his death, resignation, or inability to discharge

the powers and duties of said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President; and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected; and he shall not receive, within that period, any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:

"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will, to the best of my ability, preserve, protect, and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SEC. II. 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, judges of the supreme court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law. But the Congress may, by law, vest the appointment of such inferior officers as they think proper in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions, which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SEC. III. He shall, from time to time, give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors, and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed; and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SEC. IV. The President, Vice-President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

### ARTICLE III

SECTION I. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one supreme court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may, from time to time, ordain and establish. The judges, both of the supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SEC. II. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases in law and equity arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority; to all cases affecting ambassadors, and other public ministers, and consuls; to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; to controversies between two or more states; between a state and citizens of another state; between citizens of different states; between citizens of the same state, claiming lands under grants of different states, and between a state, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens, or subjects.

2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers, and consuls, and those in which a state shall be a party, the supreme court shall have original jurisdiction. In all other cases before mentioned, the supreme court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations, as the Congress shall make.

3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the state where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any state, the trial shall be at such a place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SEC. III. 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies; giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or confessions in open court.

2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainer of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture, except during the life of the person attainted.

#### ARTICLE IV

SECTION I. Full faith and credit shall be given in each state to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other state. And the Congress may, by general laws, prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SEC. II. 1. The citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states.

2. A person charged in any state with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another state, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the state from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the state having jurisdiction of the crime.

3. No person held to service or labor in one state, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SEC. III. 1. New states may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new state shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other state; nor any state be formed by the junction of two or more states, or parts of states, without the consent of the legislature of the states concerned, as well as of the Congress.

2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular state.

SEC. IV. The United States shall guarantee to every state of this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and, on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened), against domestic violence.

#### ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two-thirds of the several states, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the several states, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no state, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

#### ARTICLE VI

1. All debts contracted, and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution as under the Confederation.

2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof, and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby; anything in the Constitution or laws of any state to the contrary notwithstanding.

3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several state legislatures, and all executives and judicial officers, both of the United

States and of the several states, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

## ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the conventions of nine states shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the states so ratifying the same.

Done in convention, by the unanimous consent of the states present, the seventeenth day of September, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the Independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof, we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,  
President, and Deputy from Virginia.

### NEW HAMPSHIRE

John Langdon,  
Nicholas Gilman.

### CONNECTICUT

Wm. Samuel Johnson,  
Rogers Sherman.

### NEW YORK

Alexander Hamilton.

### NEW JERSEY

William Livingston,  
David Brearley,  
William Patterson,  
Jonathan Dayton.

### PENNSYLVANIA

Benjamin Franklin,  
Thomas Mifflin,  
Robert Morris,  
George Clymer,  
Thomas Fitzsimons,  
Jared Ingersoll,  
James Wilson,  
Gouverneur Morris.

### MASSACHUSETTS

Nathaniel Gorham,  
Rufus King.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON, *Secretary.*

## AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION.

- I. Religious Freedom—Freedom of Speech and Press—Right of Assembly and Petition.
- II. The Militia—Right to Keep and Bear Arms.
- III. Quartering of Soldiers.
- IV. Security Against Unreasonable Searches and Seizures—Search Warrants.
- V. Right to Indictment by Grand Jury—Twice in Jeopardy—Privilege Against Self-Crimination—Protection of Life, Liberty, and Property by Due Process of Law—Taking Private Property for Public Use.
- VI. Rights of Accused in Criminal Trials.
- VII. Trial by Jury in Civil Cases.
- VIII. Prohibition of Excessive Bail or Fines, and Cruel and Unusual Punishments.
- IX. Reservation of Rights of the People.
- X. Powers Not Delegated Are Reserved to the States or the People.
- XI. Exemption of States from Suits by Citizens.
- XII. Manner of Electing President and Vice-President.
- XIII. Abolition of Slavery and Involuntary Servitude.
- XIV. Definition of United States Citizenship—Privileges and Immunities of Citizens Not to Be Abridged by States—Guaranty of Due Process of Law—Equal Protection of the Laws—Apportionment of Representatives in Congress—Disqualification for Office by Insurrection or Rebellion—Removal of Disabilities—Validity of the Public Debt.
- XV. Right of Suffrage Not to Be Denied on Account of Race, Color, or Previous Servitude.
- XVI. Levy of Income Tax Without Apportionment.
- XVII. Popular Election of Senators.
- XVIII. National Prohibition.
- XIX. Suffrage for Women.

ARTICLES IN ADDITION TO, AND AMENDMENT OF, THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, PROPOSED BY CONGRESS, AND RATIFIED BY THE LEGISLATURES OF THE SEVERAL STATES PURSUANT TO THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE ORIGINAL CONSTITUTION.

### [ARTICLE I.]

(First ten amendments adopted June 15, 1790)

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

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### [ARTICLE II.]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

### [ARTICLE III.]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

### [ARTICLE IV.]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

### [ARTICLE V.]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

### [ARTICLE VI.]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defense.

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### [ARTICLE VII.]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

### [ARTICLE VIII.]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishment inflicted.

### [ARTICLE IX.]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

### [ARTICLE X.]

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

### [ARTICLE XI.]

(Adopted January 8, 1798)

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

### [ARTICLE XII.]

(Adopted September 25, 1804)

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign

and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate—the President of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

#### [ARTICLE XIII.]

(Adopted December 18, 1865)

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SEC. 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

#### [ARTICLE XIV.]

(Adopted July 21, 1868)

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SEC. 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SEC. 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SEC. 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned.

But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss of emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SEC. 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[ARTICLE XV.]  
(Adopted March 30, 1870)

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SEC. 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[ARTICLE XVI.]  
(Adopted February 25, 1913)

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes, from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

[ARTICLE XVII.]  
(Adopted May 31, 1913)

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies: *Provided*, That the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as a part of the Constitution.

[ARTICLE XVIII.]  
(Adopted January 29, 1919)

SECTION 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

SEC. 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

SEC. 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

[ARTICLE XIX.]  
(Adopted August 26, 1920)

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

## The American Declaration of Independence

The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America, in Congress, July 4, 1776

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, that whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide, new Guards for their future security.— Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over

these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their acts of pretended Legislation;

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us;

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world;

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent;

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury;

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences;

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighboring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies;

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Government;

For suspending our own Legislature, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every state of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the Support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE  
Josiah Bartlett,  
Wm. Whipple,  
Matthew Thornton,

MASSACHUSETTS  
BAY  
Saml. Adams,

John Adams,  
Robt. Treat Paine,  
Elbridge Gerry.

RHODE ISLAND

Step. Hopkins,  
William Ellery.

<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>	<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>
Robt. Morris,	Wm. Hooper,
Benjamin Rush,	Joseph Hewes,
Benja. Franklin,	John Penn.
Geo. Clymer,	
Jas. Smith,	
Geo. Taylor,	
James Wilson,	
Geo. Ross.	
<b>DELAWARE</b>	
Caesar Rodney,	
Geo. Read,	
Tho. M'Kean.	
<b>CONNECTICUT</b>	
Roger Sherman,	
Sam'el Huntington,	
Wm. Williams,	
Oliver Wolcott.	
<b>NEW YORK</b>	
Wm. Floyd,	
Phil. Livingston,	
Frans. Lewis,	
Lewis Morris.	
<b>NEW JERSEY</b>	
Richd. Stockton,	
Jno. Witherspoon,	
Fras. Hopkinson,	
John Hart,	
Abra. Clark.	

**GEORGIA**

Button Gwinnett,  
Hyman Hall,  
Geo. Walton.

**MARYLAND**

Samuel Chase,  
Wm. Paca,  
Thos. Stone.  
Charles Carroll  
of Carrollton.

**VIRGINIA**

George Wythe,  
Richard Henry Lee,  
Th. Jefferson,  
Benja. Harrison,  
Thos. Nelson, Jr.,  
Francis Lightfoot Lee,  
Carter Braxton.

**SOUTH CAROLINA**

Edward Rutledge,  
Thos. Heyward, Junr.,  
Thomas Lynch, Junr.,  
Arthur Middleton.

NOTE—The spelling in the original document has  
been followed in this reproduction.

## Some Comments on the Constitution

"The basis of our political system is the right of the people to make and to alter their constitutions of government; but the Constitution which at any time exists, till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government."

—GEORGE WASHINGTON.

"The people made the Constitution, and the people can unmake it. It is the creature of their will, and lives only by their will. But this supreme and irresistible power to make or to unmake resides only in the whole body of the people; not in any subdivision of them. The attempt of any of the parts to exercise it is usurpation, and ought to be repelled by those to whom the people have delegated their power of repelling it."

—CHIEF JUSTICE MARSHALL.

"There is no position which depends on clearer principles than that very act of a delegated authority, contrary to the tenor of the commission under which it is exercised, is void. No legislative act, therefore, contrary to the Constitution, can be valid. To deny this would be to affirm that the deputy is greater than his principal; that the servant is above his master; that the representatives of the people are superior to the people themselves; that men acting by virtue of power may do not only what their powers do not authorize, but what they forbid."

—ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

"Let reverence of the law be breathed by every mother to the lisping babe that prattles on her lap; let it be taught in schools, seminaries, and colleges; let it be written in primers, spelling books, and almanacs; let it be preached from pulpits, and proclaimed in legislative halls, and enforced in courts of justice; let it become the political religion of the nation."

—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

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END OF  
TITLE